

Matengo (N13)[†]

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P001 Shape of the augment: What is the shape of the augment?

V. 1 V shape only

í-li-bu ‘stone’

V-5-stone

í-ma-bu ‘stones’

V-6-stone

N. it only appears as a lexicalized form of nouns with monosyllabic stem

P002 Function of the augment: Does the augment fulfill a specific grammatical function?

V. no

P003 Shape of class 5: What is the shape of the class 5 nominal prefix?

V. 3 CV shape, possibly alternating with zero-marking

li-hína ‘name’

P004 Number of noun classes: How many noun classes are there? (including locative classes)

V. 19 (16+3)

1: <i>múndu</i>	2: <i>bándu</i>	‘person’
3: <i>mpalu</i>	4: <i>mípalu</i>	‘animal trail’
5: <i>lipáhi</i>	6: <i>mapáhi</i>	‘locust’
7: <i>kibéga</i>	8: <i>ibéga</i>	‘clay pot’
9: <i>íḡma</i>	10: <i>íḡma</i>	‘drum’
11: <i>lúmulí</i>		‘torch’
12: <i>kálosi</i>	13: <i>túlosi</i>	‘stream’
14: <i>útopi</i>		‘clay’
15: <i>kúlima</i>		‘cultivating, to cultivate’
16: <i>paḡúmba</i>		‘at house’
17: <i>kuḡúmba</i>		‘around house’

[†] The phonemic inventory of this language is as follows; Consonants: /p, t, k, b, g[ɣ~ɣ̃], s, h, dʒ, m, n, ɲ, ɳ, l[l~d], w, j/ Vowels: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u, i:, e:, ɛ:, a:, ɔ:, o:, u:/ . Tone marking, where available, is given as surface realization; [á]: high, [â]: falling, [ǎ]: rising. Abbreviations used in the gloss are as follows; 1, 2, 3...: Class numbers, 1sg/pl...: Person + Singular/Plural, APPL: Applicative, AUX: Auxiliary, CJF: Conjoint final (imperfect), CON: Connective, COP: Copula, F: Final vowel (default inflectional suffix of verb), FUT: Future, INF: Infinitive, IRR: Irrealis, ITV: Itive, NEG: Negative, OM: Object Marker, PreF: Pre-final, PRF: Perfect, PRS: Present, PST: Past, QM: Question Marker, RCPR: Reciprocal, RM: Relative Marker, SM: Subject Marker, STAT: Stative, SUBJ: Subjunctive, -: Affix boundary.

- 18: *mulúhagi* ‘in a plate’
 20: *gúlibu* ‘big rock’

P005 Class for infinitive: Does the infinitive take a noun class prefix?

V. yes (15)

- 15: *kú-lima* ‘to cultivate’
 15-cultivate

P006 Class for diminutive: Is diminutive meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes

- 12: *ká-tô:mbi* ‘hill’
 12-mountain
 13: *tú-tô:mbi* ‘hills’
 13-mountain
 cf. *ki-tô:mbi* ‘mountain’
 7-mountain
i-tô:mbi ‘mountains’
 8-mountain

P007 Class for augmentative: Is augmentative meaning expressed through the use of noun classes?

V. yes

- 20: *gú-li-inu* > *gúlinu* ‘fang’
 20-5-tooth
 4: *mí-li-inu* > *mílinu* ‘fangs’
 4-5-tooth
 cf. *li-inu* > *lînu* ‘tooth’
 5-tooth
má-inu > *mînu* ‘teeth’
 6-tooth

P008 Noun class prefix omission: Is it possible to omit the noun class prefix when class membership is marked through agreement (on a modifier or on the verb)?

V. no

P009 Locative class prefixation: Can a noun take a locative class prefix?

V. yes

- 16: *pa-júmba* ‘at house’
 17: *ku-júmba* ‘around house’

18: *mu-líhagi* ‘in a plate’

P010 Locative class suffixation: Can a noun take a locative suffix?

V. no

P011 Locative subject markers: Are there locative subject markers on the verb?

V. yes

N. 16: *pa-*, 17: *ku-*, 18: *mu-*

P012 Locative object markers: Are there locative pre-stem object markers on the verb?

V. yes

N. 16: *-pa-*, 17: *-ku-*, 18: *-mu-*

P013 Locative enclitics: Are there locative post-verbal clitics?

V. no

P014 Independent subject pronouns: Are independent subject pronouns obligatory?

V. no

N. for topicalization and focalization

P015 Connective constructions: Is the order of connective constructions always head - connective - modifier?

V. yes

[genitive]

<i>mwíha</i>	<i>gwa</i>	<i>hómba</i>	‘fish bone’
3.thorn	3.CON	9.fish	

[qualifying]

<i>númba</i>	<i>dza</i>	<i>matupwáli</i>	‘brick house’
9.house	9.CON	6.bricks	

P016 Possessive pronouns: Are there distinct possessive pronominal forms for all noun classes and all speech act participants?

V. no

P017 Possessive pronoun agreement: Do the possessive pronouns agree in noun class with the possessed?

V. yes

P018 Kinds of possession: Are there specific possessive pronominal forms for different kinds of possession?

V. no

P019 Possessor raising: Is possessor raising possible?

V. 2 yes, with inalienable possession only

né *n-a-bágadz-adze* *kúboku* > *nabagadza*

1sg SM1sg-PST-shiver-CJF 15.hand

‘My hand shivered’

P020 Demonstrative morphology: Are there morphological divisions in the system of demonstratives? (e.g. in terms of spatial and temporal deixis and/or visibility)

V. 4 yes, there is a five-way (or more) distinction

<i>mikongu hedzí pǎpɔ</i>	‘these trees’	close enough to the speaker to touch
<i>mikongu dzênze</i>	‘these trees’	very close to the speaker but not enough to touch
<i>mikongu adzê:</i>	‘there trees’	close but not very close to the speaker
<i>mikongu dzê:la</i>	‘those trees’	far from the speaker but close enough to see
<i>mikongu dzwê:</i>	‘the/those trees’	far and cannot see, anaphoric

P021 Demonstrative agreement: Do the demonstratives agree in noun class with the head noun?

V. 1 yes, always

P022 Functions of demonstratives: In addition to spatial-deictic functions, do the demonstrative pronouns assume other functions?

V. yes

see **P020**

N. anaphoric function

P023 Lexical adjectives: Are there lexical adjectives? (i.e. which are not syntactically complex)

V. yes

<i>-dzilɔ</i>	‘black’
<i>-kéli</i>	‘red’
<i>-húhu</i>	‘white’
<i>-dziɸi</i>	‘short, low’
<i>-kolónɡu</i>	‘big’
<i>-lásu</i>	‘long, tall’
<i>-sɔkɔ</i>	‘small’
<i>-dzodzohu</i>	‘light’
<i>-dzomo</i>	‘dry’

- <i>pehí</i>	‘wet’
- <i>móhu</i>	‘rotten’
- <i>hímɔ</i>	‘cold’
- <i>hákau</i>	‘bad’
- <i>ilihaha</i>	‘bad’
- <i>niáhi</i>	‘good’
- <i>lihulá</i>	‘old’
- <i>tópu</i>	‘empty’
- <i>hímau</i>	‘sterile (for soil)’
- <i>tɔpɛu</i>	‘difficult’
- <i>lɛgalɛu</i>	‘easy’
- <i>ómi</i>	‘special’
- <i>amána</i>	‘important’
- <i>ɲɛna</i>	‘young, immature’

P024 Adnominal concord prefixes: Are there different forms/paradigms for adnominal concord prefixes?

V. yes

[nominal prefix type]

imabu má-kolónɔgu ‘big stones’

6.stone 6-big

[pronominal prefix type]

possessive: *imabu ga-angu* ‘my stones’

connective: *imabu ga-a ɲumba* ‘stones of the house’

demonstrative: *imabu ga-la* ‘those stones’

number: *imabu ga-beli* ‘two stones’

quantitative: *imabu ga-ɔha < gɔha* ‘all stones’

imabu ga-lénga ‘how many stones?’

imabu ga-ingi < gingi ‘many stones’

imabu ga-ngi < gáŋgi ‘some stones’

imabu ga-okápi ga-ôla < gokápi gôla ‘any stones’

P025 Attributive linkers: Are there attributive linkers which are used to introduce adjectives?

V. no

P026 *-yánà compounding: Is a form related to *-yánà ‘child’ productively used in word formation as the first member of a nominal compound (e.g. to express diminutive or group membership...)?

V. no

P027 Nominal derivational suffixes: Does the language productively use nominal derivational suffixes for the expression of diminutive meanings or feminine/augmentative/qualitative meanings? (e.g. expressed by forms similar to -yánà and kazi ?)

V. no

P028 Agentive suffix -i : Does suffixation of the agentive marker -i occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (possibly in addition to classes 1/2 prefixes)?

V. null

P029 Derivational suffix -o : Does the suffixation of -o occur as a verb-to-noun derivational process (with sometimes the addition of the applicative extension)?

V. null

P030 Cardinal numerals: Does the formation of cardinal numerals below ten obey a pattern?

V. 1 yes, it is based on 5 (e.g. 6=5+1)

ɲhanu ná imu class 6

5 and 1

ɲhanu ná beli class 7

5 and 2

P031 ‘arm’ and ‘hand’ : Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘arm’ and ‘hand’ ?

V. yes

kú-bɔku ‘arm/hand’

15-hand/arm

má-bɔku ‘arms/hands’

6-hand/arm

P032 ‘hand’ and ‘finger’ : Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘hand’ and ‘finger’ ?

V. no

N. *lú-kɔndzi* ‘finger’

11-finger

n-kɔndzi > *ɲgɔndzi* ‘fingers’

10-finger

P033 ‘leg’ and ‘foot’ : Is there a single stem that denotes both ‘leg’ and ‘foot’ ?

V. yes

kú-golu ‘leg, foot’

15-leg/foot

má-golu ‘legs, feet’

6-leg/foot

P034 ‘tea’: Is the word for ‘tea’ similar to cha?

V. yes

sái ‘tea’

P035 Inchoative verbs: Is there a group of verbs expressing qualities or states which are lexically inchoative and are thus typically used with a perfect/perfective verb form to express a present state? (e.g. fall asleep, be full, be late, be dirty, etc)

V. yes

hábuks ‘fall down’

gólola ‘lay down’

gónela ‘fall asleep’

hjóbalela ‘get used to’

P036 Canonical passive: Is the canonical passive productively expressed through a verbal extension?

V. no

N. object topicalization, impersonal construction

P037 ‘Impersonal’ passive: Can an ‘impersonal’ construction be used to express passive meaning?

V. 3 yes, using a class 1 SM, without the expression of an agent noun phrase

mundu dzu-m-teg-iti kapenga.

1.person SM1-OM1-curse-PRF Kapenga

‘Someone has cursed Mr. Kapenga.’ (intended meaning: Kapenga has been cursed.)

P038 Agent noun phrase: How is the agent noun phrase (when present) introduced?

V. n.a

N. Matengo does not have passive construction. If ‘passive construction’ includes impersonal passive construction, then answer should be ‘no’

P039 Bare agent: Can the preposition/copula which introduces the agent be omitted?

V. n.a

P040 Reciprocal/associative: How is reciprocal/associative meaning expressed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

<i>bag-an-a</i> ‘share’	<i>bag-a</i> ‘deliver’
deliver-RCP-F	deliver-F

P041 Other functions for -an-: Does the suffix -an- (or similar form) have functions other than reciprocal (e.g. antipassive function)?

V. null

P042 Causative: How is causative meaning expressed ?

V. 2 through the use of a specific construction only (i.e. the use of a periphrastic construction)
construction using *leka* ‘to put’

P043 Instrumental causative: Can the causative extension be used to introduce prototypical instruments?

V. n.a

P044 Applicative: How are applicative constructions formed?

V. 1 through the use of a verbal affix only

gu-mu-gólol-il-a *lúsi* *lúhă:gi*.

SM2sg-OM1-wash-APPL-F Lucy 11.plate

‘You are washing a plate instead of Lucy.’

P045 Applicative functions: In addition to the benefactive meaning typically associated with the applicative complement, do applicative constructions convey other meanings?

V. yes

N. benefaiciary, maleficiary, recipient, addressee, goal, experiencer, reason/ motive, content, instrument, emphasis

P046 Multiple applicative extensions: Can two (or more) applicative extensions be productively used in the same verb form?

V. 1 yes, to express intensity, repetition, completeness

P047 Neuter/stative: Is there a productive neuter/stative extension?

V. 1 yes, the suffix -ik- or similar form

hu:l-ik-a ‘be taken off (clothes)’

take.off-STAT-F

hu:l-a ‘take off clothes’

take.off-F

P048 Order of suffixes: Is there a specific order in which multiple productive verbal extensions typically appear?

V. 1 yes, causative-applicative-reciprocal-passive (CARP) order

N. but Matengo does not have passive

P049 Negation in independent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in independent tenses?

V. 2 by a particle

ngasé dzu-gú-butuk-il-iti. > dzugúbutukîle

NEG SM1-OM2sg-run-APPL-PRF

‘S/he didn’t run after you.’

P050 Negation in dependent tenses: What are the formal means of expressing negation in dependent tenses?

V. 4 multiple strategies

(1) with a verb *-lema* ‘to avoid’

aná n-aká-lém-iti kú-heŋga líheŋgu lisú, né nga: kú-tɔtukɛla.

if SM1sg-IRR-avoid-PRF INF-work 5.work yesterday 1sg NEG INF-be.tired

‘If I had not worked yesterday, I wouldn’t have been tired,’

(2) with negation prefix *-i-*

dzú-a-hi-adʒɛ sîndu séla, né n-i-ki-pát-á. > dzwahia

SM1-PST-hide-CJF 7.thing 7.this 1sg SM1sg-NEG-OM7-get-F

‘He hid this thing so that I did not find it.’

P051 Negation in relative clauses: Is negation in relative clauses expressed in the same way as in another clause type?

V. null

P052 Place of negation in independent tenses: Where is negation expressed in independent tenses?

V. 6 in a pre-verbal independent negative particle only

See **P049**

P053 Place of negation in dependent tenses: Where is negation expressed in dependent tenses?

V. 2 in the post-initial position only? (SM-NEG-...)

See **P050** (2)

negative prefix *-i-* and tone (*-a* → *-á*)

P054 Number of negation markers in independent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in independent tenses?

V. 1 a single marker in the clause

See **P049**

P055 Number of negation markers in dependent tenses: How many markers of negation are there in dependent tenses?

V. 2 possible double marking in the clause (including tone marking)

See **P050**

P056 Independent negative particle: Is there an independent negative particle used to express negation?

V. 1 yes, it is obligatorily present in addition to verb marking (including tone)

See **P049**

P057 First person singular negative: Is there a specific first person singular negative subject prefix which is different from the affirmative one?

V. no

P058 Negative imperative: Is there a negative imperative which is formally distinct from the negative subjunctive?

V. no

P059 Periphrastic negation: Is negation in certain tense/aspect/moods expressed by means of a periphrastic form (e.g. making use of an auxiliary construction or a verb like ‘refuse/deny’ for instance)? (see P049)

V. yes

n-aká-lém-iti *kú-ba* *na* *ɲdâ:su.*

SM1sg-IRR-avoid-PRF INF-be COP 1.tall

‘I was not tall.’

cf. *{n-a-bí/n-áka-bí}* *ngaa* *na* *ɲdâ:su.*

SM1sg-PST-be/SM1sg-IRR-be NEG 1sg.COP 1.tall

P060 Subject-verb agreement: Is there subject-verb agreement?

V. yes

P061 Animate agreement: Can animate nouns show subject agreement with class 1/2 regardless of class membership? (without class shift, e.g. the addition of a diminutive class)

V. no

P062 1st and 2nd person plurals : Are first person plural and second person plural subject prefixes identical?

V. no

1pl: *tu-*

2pl: *mu-*

P063 Honorific plural: Can plural persons be used to express a honorific singular?

V. 3 both 1 (second person plural subject marker) and 2 (class 2 morphology) are attested

P064 Coordinated nominals: What subject agreement does the verb show with coordinated nominals?

V. 2 the verb always shows agreement with the whole noun phrase (this includes default agreement)

likóló na lhimba ma-píle.

5.vegetable and 5.yam SM6-be.cooked.

‘Vegetable and yam have been cooked.’

mádžabu na úlehi i-džélamwiki.

6.cassava and 14.millet SM8-be.overflowed

‘Cassava and millet have been overflowed.’

P065 Past time reference: How is past time reference formally divided?

V. 2 past time is divided into two (e.g hodiernal vs. pre-hodiernal, etc)

gu-heng-it-adže liheng. > guhengita

SM2sg-work-PreF-CJF 5.work

‘You worked (this morning).’

gu-a-heng-adže liheng. > gwahenga

SM2sg-PST-work-CJF 5.work

‘You worked (yesterday or before that)’

P066 Future time reference: How is future time reference formally divided?

V. 2 future time is divided into two (e.g hodiernal vs. post-hodiernal, etc)

a. *tu-i-hemel-adže ɲɔmbi kilâ:bu. > twihemala* simple future, not certain

SM1pl-FUT-buy-CJF 9.cow tomorrow

b. *ɲgití tu-hemel-a ɲɔmbi kilâ:bu.* near future, certain

AUX SM1pl-buy-F 9.cow tomorrow

‘We will buy a cow tomorrow.’

P067 Suffix -ag-: Is there a tense/aspect (pre-final) suffix -ag- or a similar form used with an imperfective meaning (expressing for instance habituality/iterativity/pluractionality/intensity)?

V. yes

-adʒɛ

P068 Suffix -ile: Is there a tense/aspect suffix -ile or a similar form (as a reflex of *-ide)?

V. yes

-iti

P069 Itive marker: Is there an itive motional/directional marker? (e.g. ka- prefix)

V. 1 yes, with a ka- prefix in restricted contexts only (e.g. subjunctive)

tu-aká-lómb-a *máhombi*. ‘We will go and buy eggs.’

SM1pl-ITV-buy-F 6.egg

tu-aká-lómb-i. > *twakalómbɛ* ‘Let’s go and buy.’

SM1pl-ITV-buy-SUBJ

N. only future tense and subjunctive

P070 Ventive marker: Is there a ventive motional/directional marker (‘come and V’)?

V. no

P071 Imperatives: Is the basic imperative formally identical to the verb stem (root-ext.-FV)?

V. n.a

N. no imperative form in Matengo. Subjunctive is used instead.

P072 Plural imperatives: Is there a singular/plural distinction in imperative verb forms?

V. 3 yes, the plural is expressed by the addition of a second person plural subject marker

N. no imperative form in Matengo. Subjunctive is used instead.

P073 TAM slots: In an inflected verb form, is preverbal marking of tense/aspect/mood typically restricted to one slot?

V. yes

P074 Conjoint/disjoint: Does the language have a conjoint/disjoint distinction?

V. yes

(1) CJ form

a. *tu-a-hɛmɛl-adʒɛ* *sukáli*. > *twáhɛmala* simple far past (CJ)

SM1pl-PST-buy-CJF 9.sugar

‘We bought sugar.’

b. **tu-a-hɛmɛl-adʒɛ*.

SM1pl-PST-buy-CJF

(2) DJ form

a. *tu-a-hemɛl-iti* *sukáli.* > *twahémi* perfect past (DJ)

SM1pl-PST-buy-PRF 9.sugar

‘We bought sugar.’

b. *tu-a-hemɛl-iti.*

SM1PL-PST-buy-PRF

‘We bought (it).’

P075 Object marking: Are there object markers on the verb (excluding locative object markers, see parameters P012 & P013)?

V. 1 yes, there are only pre-stem object markers

n-i-ki-gólol-iti. > *nákigolwíli*

SM1sg-FUT-OM7-wash-PRF

‘I will wash it.’

P076 Multiple object marking: Is it possible to have more than one pre-stem object marker?

V. no

P077 Reflexive: Is the reflexive expressed by a reflexive marker in a pre-stem verbal slot on the verb?

V. 2

li-

-bô:la ‘to teach’

-li-bô:la ‘to teach oneself > to learn’

P078 Object doubling: Can the object marker and the post-verbal lexical object noun phrase co-occur in the same domain? (excluding ‘afterthought’ constructions)

V. 2 yes, co-occurrence is required in certain contexts

N. co-occurrence is required when the object noun is animate

P079 Subjunctive final -e: Is the subjunctive normally formed by means of a final -e? (with possible exceptions, such as loanwords)

V. yes

tu-dʒɔb-i > *tudʒô:be.* ‘Let’s hide.’

SM1pl-hide-SUBJ

P080 Negative final vowel: Is there a negative final vowel (e.g. -i, -e)? (see also parameters P052 and P053)

V. no

P081 Defective verbs: Are there ‘defective verbs’ which do not exhibit regular inflection?

V. 2 yes, a subset of (non-borrowed) verbs, such as ‘know’ or ‘say’

P082 TAM and auxiliaries: Are there dedicated auxiliaries for different tense/aspect/moods?

V. 2 yes, some auxiliaries are restricted to different tense/aspect/but not with a one-to-one match

-kiti ‘nearly happen, almost happen’

gu-a-kiti *gu-tupô:t-adʒɛ* *twɛŋga.* > *gutupô:ta*

SM2sg-PST-KITI SM2sg-bump-CJF 1pl

‘You were nearly bumping us.’

P083 Multiple auxiliaries: Can two (or more) auxiliaries co-occur with the same main verb form?

V. no

P084 Agreement in complex constructions: In complex constructions, does the subject trigger agreement on both the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. 1 yes agreement on both forms in all contexts

See **P082**

P085 Auxiliary semantics: Are there auxiliaries which express semantic notions beyond tense/aspect? (i.e. notions which are often expressed by adverbs in European languages, like manner such as ‘quickly’)

V. 1 yes agreement on both forms in all contexts

-kiti ‘nearly’

-taki ‘nearly’

-pa:lika ‘must’

P086 Copula as auxiliary: Is the copula used as an auxiliary?

V. no

P087 Verbal relative morphology: Are there relative forming strategies which employ verbal morphology?

V. yes

P088 Nominal relative morphology: Are there relative strategies which employ a nominal relative marker?

V. no

P089 Relativisor agreement: When the relative marker is a separate word, does it agree with the head noun?

V. yes

lúha:gi lo: tu-a-bomb-iti

11.plate RM11 SM1pl-PST-make-PRF

‘a plate which we made’

P090 Subject-Relativisor: When the relative marker is a separate word, can it be preceded by the subject in non-subject relative clauses?

V. 1 yes, there is only one type of separate word or preverbal clitic relativisor in the language which always shows agreement

P091 Relative verb agreement: In non-subject relatives, what does the verb of the relative clause agree with?

V. 2 the subject

See **P089**

P092 Subject-Relative verb: In non-subject relatives, can the subject be preverbal?

V. no

P093 Resumptive pronouns in relatives: In non-subject relatives, is there a resumptive element referring to the head noun (through object marking or independent pronoun)?

V. 1 yes, it is optional

P094 Headless adverbial relatives: Can headless relatives be used as adverbial clauses, with, for instance, temporal (‘when...’), locative (‘where...’), or manner (‘how...’) meaning?

V. yes

[locative]

mba:la kú-kumana ko: dzu-tám-a.

I.want.to INF-know RM17 SM3sg-live-F

‘I want to know where he lives.’

[temporal]

pa: tu-a-kul-a kilebi ngasé dʒwabî.

RM16 SM1pl-PST-eat-F 7.food NEG he.was

‘when we were eating, he was not present.’

P095 Gapless relatives: Are gapless relatives/noun-modifying clauses attested?

V. null

P096 TAM and relatives: Can relative clauses express the full range of tense/aspect/mood distinctions found in main clauses?

V. null

P097 Clefts: How are clefts formed?

V. 1 through the use of a segmentally expressed copula

ná: dzo: dzu-i-dzɛnd-adzɛ ná nɛ? > dzwidzɛnda

who RM1 SM1-FUT-go-CJF with 1sg

‘It is who (the one) who wants to go with me?’

P098 Clefted word classes: In addition to canonical noun phrases, may other categories be clefted?

V. null

P099 Yes/no questions: In addition to intonation, are there other means used to encode yes/no questions (polar interrogatives)?

V. yes

sámatɛŋɔ gu-máŋ-iti lê:lô:?

Matengo SM2sg-know-PRF QM

‘Do you know the Matengo language?’

P100 Wh-element location: In the dominant strategy for argument wh-questions, where does the wh-element typically appear?

V. 5 in situ

(1) *ki-gólok-a kike?*

SM7-fly-F what

‘What is flying?’

(2) *náne dzu-pal-a ku-lɔmba ɲɔmbi?*

who SM1-want-F INF-buy cow

‘Who wants to buy a cow?’

N. VS is canonical in a sentence without object in CJ final.

P101 ‘why’ applicatives: Can ‘why’ be formed through the combination of an applicative on the verb + ‘what’?

V. yes

there is also another way

ndába dza kike ñkɔngu gɔŋgɔ gu-hábuk-iti pâ:hi?
 reason 3.CON what 3.tree 3.this SM3-fall-PRF down
 ‘Why this tree has fell down?’

P102 Equative predication: How is equative predication achieved with non-discourse participants?

V. 4 both 1 (an invariable copula only) and 2 (variable (class-inflected) copulas only) = both variable (class-inflected) and invariable copulas

[variable: with copula marker (SM) in the case of 1st and 2nd person]

(1) *mwé mu alâsu.*
 2pl 2pl.COP 2.tall
 ‘You are tall.’

[invariable: no copula marker in the case of other than 1st and 2nd person]

(2) *bangana alâsu.*
 3pl 2.tall
 ‘They are tall.’

N. variable copular in the case of 1st and 2nd, invariable copulas (no mark) in other cases

P103 Affirmative copula: In the copula system, what is the form of the affirmative copula?

V. 2 derived from verbal subject markers

	SM	COP
1sg	<i>n-</i>	<i>na</i>
1pl	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu</i>
2sg	<i>gu-</i>	<i>gu</i>
2pl	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu</i>

N. copula appears only in the case of 1st and 2nd person

P104 Copula’s other meanings: In addition to equative predication, may a copula form be used to convey other meanings?

V. no

P105 ‘to have’: How is possession (‘to have’) expressed?

V. 2 the verb ‘be’ + preposition ‘with’ only

(1) *a-bi na ñɔmbi.*
 SM3pl-be.PRF with 10.cow
 ‘They have cows.’

(2) *kitéu sëndze ki-bí na mágolu ñsesi.*
 7.chair 7.this SM7-be.PRF with 6.leg four
 ‘This chair has four legs.’

P106 Verb + cognate object: Are there verbal constructions with obligatory cognate objects?

V. yes

-henga lihengu ‘to work work’

N. limited verbs, and only in the case of CJ form.

P107 Verb doubling constructions: Are there verb doubling constructions, where a non-finite verb form (e.g. infinitive, verbal base) appears before an inflected form of the same verb?

V. no

P108 Light verb constructions: Are there complex predicates or light verb constructions of the form beat colour ‘to paint’? (e.g. ‘-piga’ in Swahili)

V. yes

dzu-tend-a kú-kina.

SM1-do-F INF-dance

‘He is dancing.’

N. to do ~

P109 Passivisation in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object become subject under passivisation?

V. n.a

N. no passive construction

P110 Object marking in ditransitives: In double object constructions, can either object be expressed by an object marker, independently of the other object?

V. no

P111 Pro-drop: Can the grammatical subject be omitted (i.e. is there pro-drop)? (link with (60))

V. yes

(mwana dɜwangu) dzu-pal-a iŋɔma.

1.child 1.my SM1-want-F 9.drum

‘(My child) he wants a drum.’

P112 Dem-Noun: Is it possible for a demonstrative to precede the head noun?

V. null

P113 Quant-Noun: Is there a prenominal quantifier?

V. null

P114 Possessive in multiple modifiers: In the case of co-occurring modifiers, does the possessive normally appear closest to the noun?

V. yes

má-himbi gákɔ má-kɔlɔŋgu gá-beli agâ: gu kú-hemalesa

6-yam 6.your 6-big 6-two 6.that 6.CON INF-sell

‘Your these two big yams to sell’

P115 SVO: Is Subject-Verb-Object the canonical constituent order in a neutral context (topic/comment)?

V. yes

P116 Control of object order: In ditransitive constructions, are there mechanisms which control the order of multiple objects?

V. 2 yes, the order is determined by the thematic/semantic properties of the objects (e.g. benefactive-theme, animacy)

a. *tom á-mu-hwatíká mwana mündú likôti.*

Tom SM1.PST-OM1-dress 1.child 1.his 5.jacket

‘Tom dressed his child jacket.’

b. **á-ŋ-hwatíká likôti mwana mündú.*

SM1.PST-OM1-dress 5.jacket 1.child 1.his

P117 Object order asymmetry: In pragmatically neutral ditransitive constructions, can either object be adjacent to the verb?

V. no

P118 Focus position: In simple main clauses, is there a specific syntactic focus position?

V. 1 immediately after the verb (IAV)

dʒu-butuk-a samuél.

SM1-run-F Samuel

‘{who is running?} SAMUEL is running.’

P119 Aux-Obj.pronoun-Verb: In auxiliary constructions, can object pronouns be placed between the auxiliary and the main verb?

V. no

P120 Infinitive-Auxiliary: Is it possible for an infinitive to appear before the auxiliary?

V. null

P121 Verb-subject: Are there verb-initial clauses with subject inversion (e.g.thetic statements or subject focus)?

V. 1 yes, and the verb agrees with the postverbal subject

See P118

P122 Locative inversion: Is locative inversion attested?

V. no

P123 Patient inversion : Is patient inversion (subject-object reversal) attested?

V. no

P124 Instrument inversion: Is instrument inversion attested?

V. no

P125 Conjunction ‘and’ : Is the conjunction ‘and’ used in coordinated nouns (or noun phrases) the same as the one used in coordinated clauses?

V. n.a

P126 Subsequent/consecutive: Is there any verbal marker to express combinations of clauses encoding subsequent/consecutive events?

V. no

P127 Complementiser presence: Is a subordinator/complementiser present in a subordinate clause?

V. no

P128 Complementiser location: Where does the subordinator/complementiser appear with respect to the subordinate clause?

V. n.a

P129 Complementiser origin: Is there a subordinator/complementiser derived from a verb meaning ‘say’ or ‘tell’ ?

V. n.a

P130 Complementiser agreement: Is there an agreement marker on the subordinator/complementiser?

V. n.a

P131 if-clauses expression: How are conditional clauses (or if-clauses) expressed?

V. 4 both a conjunction and a specific tense/aspect/mood are possible in the same clause

aná dʒi-kúnik-iti íhjula kiâbu, ŋga: n-í-dʒênd-a.

if SM9-rain-PRF 9.rain tomorrow NEG SM1sg-FUT-go-F

‘If it rains tomorrow, I will not go.’

N. *aná* + present perfect

P132 if-clause order: Does the subordinate if-clause always precede the main then-clause?

V. yes

P133 if-clause = then-clause: Do the verbs in the if-clause and the then-clause have the same tense/aspect marking?

V. no

N. if-clause always appears in present perfect regardless of then-clause

P134 Hypothetical = Counterfactual: Are hypothetical (if I Ved) and counterfactual (if I had Ved) clauses expressed in different ways?

V. no

hypothetical: present perfect in if-clause

counterfactual: - *áka* -

(aná) dʒi-áka-kúnik-iti íhjula lisú ŋga: n-áka-hík-iti

If SM9-IRR-rain-PRF 9.rain yesterday NEG SM1sg-IRR-arrive-PRF

ku-júmba dʒínɔ.

LOC-house your

‘If it had been raining, I would not have gone to your house.’

P135 Temporal adverbial clauses: How are temporal adverbial clauses formed (e.g. when-clause, onceclause, after-clause, before-clause, etc)?

V. 3 by a specific temporal relative construction and 2 by the use of specific tense/aspect/mood marking

See **P094** for when-clause

N. 3 for when-clause, 2 for once-clause

after and before are expressed by specific verb such as ‘to precede to do ~’

P136 Locative adverbial clauses: How are locative adverbial clauses (‘where’-clauses) formed?

V. 3 by a specific locative relative construction

See **P094**

P137 Comparative: How is the comparative (and by extension the superlative) conveyed?

V. null

P138 SM in non-finite clauses: Can non-finite clauses have an overt subject? (For John to eat cookies is fun / John eating cookies is fun / people to play football is annoying)

V. no

N. (or null)

P139 Verb inflection in raising constructions: In raising constructions, can the raising verb (i.e. in the upper clause) and the main verb (in the lower clause) both be inflected?

V. yes

P140 Morphological focus marker: Can a focussed term be marked by a morphological focus marker?

V. yes

N. with conjoint final (but only in the case of the term focus)

P141 Focus-sensitive particles: Are there focus-sensitive particles such as ‘too’, ‘only’ or ‘even’?

V. yes

péna ‘only’

dʒu-hik-iti *maría pɛːna*.

SM1-arrive-PRF Maria only

‘Only Maria has arrived.’

P142 Subject focalisation: Are the strategies available for questioning or focusing subjects different from those available for other constituents? (e.g. subjects have to be clefted and cannot be questioned in situ)

V. no

[subject]

dʒu-a-butuk-adʒɛ *samuél.* > *dʒwabutuka*

SM1-PST-run-CJF Samuel

‘{who ran/ was running?} SAMUEL was running.’

[object]

dʒu-a-lɔmb-adʒɛ *kitâbu.* > *dʒwalɔmba*

SM1-PST-buy-CJF 7.book

‘{what did he buy?} he bought a BOOK.’